

ACTION

August 6, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: HENRY A. KISSINGER
FROM: LESJJANKA
SUBJECT: Jon Huntsman's Request
for Report on News Articles

Jon Huntsman requests that you report the source of the attached articles reporting on the China initiatives. A check with the staff indicates no one can pin point a possible internal source for such speculation. Win Lord suggests that we handle the comment about your memorandum to the President as indicated in the attached memorandum.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the attached memorandum to Jon Huntsman at Tab A.

LJ:lgd:8/6/71

China Bulletin
LADENPHIA
July 22, 1971

U.S. Unlikely to Insist On 2-China Policy at UN

By RAY MOSELEY

Bulletin Washington Bureau

Washington — President Nixon's decision to visit Communist China has given rise to speculation here that the United States will make only a token effort to retain Nationalist China's seat in the United Nations this fall.

Some China experts outside the Government believe this intention may already have been made clear to Peking.

They argue that, in view of Peking's refusal to enter the UN until Nationalist China is ousted, Mr. Nixon could not afford to make a determined fight to salvage the Nationalist seat.

This would be seen by the Communists, they say, as another attempt to keep them out of the UN and they might in consequence withdraw the invitation to Mr. Nixon.

So it is most likely, these experts say, that Mr. Nixon has advised Peking he will not pressure the UN General Assembly to adopt his expected policy of dual representation for Peking and the Nationalist.

U. S. officials will not discuss such speculation. But they said today that Mr. Nixon's UN policy will be announced by Secretary of State William P. Rogers at a press conference soon.

The Bulletin reported exclusively June 22 that Mr. Nixon had decided on a dual representation policy. It also reported last week that Chinese Nationalist President Chiang Kai-shek rejected this policy some time ago and advised the United States he would leave the UN the moment Peking is voted in.

Change of Mind
U. S. officials confirmed the report of Chiang's intentions today. But they said they are now trying to determine if he may have changed his mind as a result of Mr. Nixon's announcement of his trip. They indicated Rogers' press conference date would be set after they have heard from Chiang on this.

The UN General Assembly meets Sept. 21, and a Communist resolution already has been introduced that would admit Peking and expel the Nationalists.

There are several possible dual representation formulas that the United States could support.

The most likely formula, in the view of some experts, is a resolution that would require separate votes on Peking's admission and Nationalist China's expulsion.

A Different Matter
Prior to Mr. Nixon's announcement of his trip, U. S. officials were confident the General Assembly would never adopt a resolution expel Nationalist China if it were voted on separately.

But if the United States not prepared to fight for a Nationalist seat, this is a different matter. Few countries would likely stand by the Nationalists in the vote if it was giving less than enthusiastic support.

Some UN experts believe that if the Assembly voted to admit Peking, the separate vote on expulsion of the Nationalists would then be material because the resolution would, in effect, be expelling them.

They believe the United States may also consider this

to be the case, and thus plan to seek a separate vote on the issue only as a pro forma show of support for the Nationalists.

McIntire Leads Protest
Washington — (UPI) — Dr. Carl McIntire and about 150 persons gathered on the Capitol steps yesterday to protest the entry of Communist China to the United Nations and President Nixon's planned trip to the Chinese mainland.

WASHINGTON— Future U.S. policy toward the Chinese Nationalist government on Taiwan (Formosa) appears to be the crucial issue in the coming preparation talks for President Nixon's trip to Peking.

Although the President and his advisers aren't talking about it in public, the Chinese Communist leaders want him to make several changes in this policy before his trip to Peking early next year.

Premier Chou En-lai made this clear to Dr. Henry Kissinger, the President's chief foreign policy adviser, during their meeting in Peking. A Kissinger memorandum to the President high-



lighted Chou's "suggestion" in reporting that the Red Premier put the Taiwan issue ahead of all others, including the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam.

Kissinger was told that the President could "clear the air" for his trip by removing all units of the Seventh U.S. Fleet from the Formosa Straits and by cutting back on military aid to the Chinese Nationalist government.

It was Chou's position, Kissinger stressed, that the U.S. should end its naval protection of Taiwan as the first step toward a normalization of relations since the connections between the two countries had been disputed by this American military move.

When Kissinger indicated that this was a matter that had to be resolved by both the White House and Congress, Chou replied that the President surely must have the power and influence to make this change in U.S. policy.

Before agreeing to make the joint Peking-Washington announcement of the President's trip to China, Chou demanded and received Kissinger's assurances that the U.S. would support Peking's membership to the United Nations and the U.N. Security Council.

As to the position the U.S. takes toward Nationalist China in the U.N., Chou said it didn't make any difference to his government as long as the U.S. backed Peking's bid for membership as the representative to mainland China.

When Kissinger expressed his public opinion in the U.S. about the Chinese Nationalist government at this time, Chou indicated that this wasn't necessary or being requested now.

"What my government wants at this time is a public sign that the U.S. is going to begin phasing out its military help to Chiang Kai-shek," Chou is quoted as stating. Chou then pointed out that this could be done by withdrawing the Seventh Fleet and reducing U.S. military aid.

THE KEY QUESTION — While Chou did not suggest the proposed changes in U.S. policy as a condition for Peking's invitation to the President, some of Nixon's advisers are concerned that they might become that during the coming preparation talks.

Whether President Nixon could make these changes if he pledges that the U.S. will honor all of its commitments to Nationalist China is a debatable question. Until the President learns more about Chou's suggestion, he is expected to do nothing that might cause the Chiang government to increase its opposition to his proposed trip to Peking.

Kissinger and Chou also agreed that further talks regarding the Nixon trip would be carried

on at Peking's new embassy in Ottawa by Huang Hua, Communist China's first Ambassador to Canada, and Dr. Kissinger or one of his associates.

One of Peking's top diplomats, Huang is set to arrive in Canada later this month traveling via Europe. He took part in several of the talks that Chou had with Kissinger.

In their discussions on Vietnam, Kissinger reported that Chou informed him that his government was pleased with President Nixon's withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. Chou expressed the hope that most of the withdrawal would be completed before the President arrived in Peking.

Note: When asked about China's own cultural revolution, Chou reported to Kissinger: "It is continuing. Like the revolution in your country."

HEAVY TRAFFIC—The roads to Peking are crowded with Democratic Presidential hopefuls before President Nixon makes his trip to China.

At least three possible Democratic presidential hopefuls — Senator George McGovern (S.D.), Senator Edward Kennedy (Mass.), and former Senator Eugene McCarthy (Minn.) — are seeking permission from Peking to visit China during the coming year.

Senator McGovern would like to be the first to visit China. He sent an aide to the Chinese Communist Embassy in Canada recently to see if he could speed up approval of his request. Ho Chung-fu, the Chinese charge d'affaires, promised that the Senator's application would be considered at the highest levels in Peking.

Senator Kennedy and McCarthy both hope to receive approval of their requests by fall. Both are on record for Peking's membership to the U.N. At least a half dozen members of the House also are seeking permission to travel to China.

As reported in the July 2 column, Chou told a group of Arab writers: "If U.S. politicians want to visit China there is a possibility, and we are watching. We may even extend invitations before the end of the year."

It was during his interview that Chou revealed that President Nixon had made several overtures to visit Peking and that his government was considering them. Chou also reported that there were changes going on inside the U.S., which were favorable to Peking. He cited antiwar demonstrations in the U.S., friendly speeches by members of Congress, and visits to China by U.S. newsmen and students.

Dr. Kissinger's report on his conversations with Chou confirmed earlier reports by these Arab writers that Peking plans to use future negotiations with the U.S. to try to influence both American foreign and domestic policy.

*Manchester Union
leader*

7/12/71

Paul Scott

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The Evening Bulletin
Wednesday, July 21, 1971

Bulletin News Analysis

Nixon Has Room To Maneuver With China On Pledge To Defend Taiwan

By RAY MOSELY
Bulletin Washington Bureau
Washington — President

Nixon's assurance that the U.S. will honor its defense commitment to Taiwan (Formosa) still leaves him wide room for maneuver in his efforts to normalize relations with Peking.

It neither excludes the establishment of diplomatic relations with mainland China nor the withdrawal of American troops.

Mr. Nixon's assurances on the defense commitment to Taiwan were conveyed to Chiang Kai-Shek in a letter he wrote last week, the White House said yesterday.

Stems From 1954 Treaty

The defense commitment arises from 1954 treaty with the Chiang government.

If the United States recognized Peking, it would first have to withdraw recognition from Chiang, and in that event, the treaty would automatically be rescinded, according to legal experts who have

studied the matter.

But, they said, the U.S. could legally maintain its position of Taiwan in some less formal way — so long as it did not openly acknowledge Taiwan to be Chinese territory.

Communist Chinese Premier Chou En-lai appeared to leave an opening to the U.S. for such an arrangement in recent remarks to American newsmen in Peking.

He said diplomatic relations could be established without a declaration by the U.S. recognizing Peking's sovereignty over Taiwan.

Withdrawal of Forces

"If the United States Government withdraws all forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Strait and no longer considers

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ing Kai-Shek as the representative of China," he said, the problem could be resolved.

other words, Chou indicated that if the U.S. refrained from saying anything about the legal status of the island, while withdrawing recognition from Chiang, that would be acceptable to him. But experts said that would amount to tacit, but not open, U.S. recognition that Taiwan is Chinese territory.

At the same time, they said, the U.S. could prevent an attempt by Peking to settle the problem by force through its nuclear umbrella in Asia.

There are 8,000 U.S. troops on Taiwan. There are 8,000 U.S. troops there now, most of them engaged in support activities for American forces in Indochina.